



Daily Report

East Europe

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Minister Reports on Transportation Privatization

AU2312075492 Tirana ATA in English 0913 GMT 21
Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 21 (ATA)—At the present stage privatisation in the field of transportation will be of priority, the Minister of Transports Fatos Bitincka stated in an interview.

Mentioning the creation of the first private enterprise of transport Transped after many hardships and shortages, he said that the ministry has organised the work in that way that the whole documentation of the transport enterprises be handed over to the Agency of Privatisation in order to make possible massive privatisation.

Nearly 100 percent of the inter urban buses will be privatised and 60-70 percent of the goods' transportation will be privatised within three months. The whole process of privatisation will end in a second period, Minister Bitincka said.

Privatisation is assumed to be made in groups or collectives, the minister explained. The means will be sold in the group and within a year the enterprises will become property of private individuals.

He explained that this way of privatisation does not run counter to the given instruction according to which the objects should be put to auction.

Democratic Alliance Party Holds First Conference

AU2212215292 Tirana ATA in English 1308 GMT 21
Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 21 (ATA)—In order to better complete the political specter and to make more constructive the opposition of the state power after March 22, the Party The Democratic Alliance emerged in the political scene. This was the essence of the introduction of the report the chairman of the initiating group, Neritan Ceka, presented in the national meeting of the Party Democratic Alliance.

He explained in the report that 73 of the members in the new party have not been party members in any party, 22 percent were former members of the Democratic Party, and 5 percent were former members of the Socialist Party. He underlined that his party emerges in the political scene as a party who has fought communism. As

a party the main features of this party are the intellectual character, legitimacy of the power, the European character.

Explaining the commitments of the party within the country, the report raised the need of ensuring social peace and justice, individualization of crime, real stand towards emigration. In regard to foreign policy, the main direction is the increase of political cooperation with West Europe.

Conference Ends; Leadership Elected

AU2312161492 Tirana ATA in English 1114 GMT 23
Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 23 (ATA)—A press release, distributed to the reporters at a press conference on the occasion of the wounding up of the first ecclesio [as received] of the Democratic Alliance Party, says that the meeting confirmed the commitment of the Albanian Democratic Alliance to a Western liberal democracy in Albania, raised on the sacred pillars of freedom and justice, social peace, observation of law and development of pluralism, understanding, dialogue and social coexistence, moderation and realisation. Regarding the foreign policy one can point to the proposal to formulate the basic principles of a West oriented foreign policy and the other proposal to call a Balkan security conference, which would view the sharp problems of the region in the light of the European perspective of border conventionalization.

The leading organs of the party were elected at the meeting of the first ecclesio. Neritan Ceka was elected chairman of the party and Arben Imami secretary general. The National Assembly with Spartak Ngjela as chairman and Gjergj Zefi as secretary was also elected.

Mr. Ceka, Imami, and Ngjela responded to the questions by the reporters present, which had mainly to do with the possible alliances and the party's conception on the Balkan security conference. Neritan Ceka said that the party deems it necessary to call a conference on Balkan security, as we cannot conceive an integrated Europe without an integrated Balkans. He criticised the stands maintained by the government and President Berisha in seeking allies outside Europe, as in the Arab countries, etc.

Responding to the question on the possibility of near elections, Neritan Ceka said: We respect the parliament and government, their mandate. We are for a parliamentary crisis, but if the Democratic Party will trigger it off through its acts, we will fight alike all the political forces of the country.

Berov Opens Talks With Political Forces*AU2312145092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 23 Dec 92*

[Text] Prof. Lyuben Berov met with some deputies from the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] belonging to the so-called B-12 group and with some of Prof. Petur Markov's supporters.

Prof. Berov said that the leaders of the SDS Parliamentary Group had refused to meet him, suggesting that he should hold talks with the SDS National Coordinating Council. According to Prof. Berov, approximately 55-60 SDS members of parliament are likely to vote for a cabinet under his leadership. Prof. Berov answered questions asked by the SDS representatives on his views on the composition and policy of his government.

The candidate for prime minister stated that he does not intend to invite representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] or the extra-parliamentary forces to take part in the government. He may invite representatives of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS].

So far Prof. Berov has proposed only one name in connection with the nomination of new cabinet members, namely that of Mileti Mladenov, deputy manager of the Bulgarian National Bank, for the post of finance minister, but the latter has already refused.

Prof. Berov has not talked to Minister Stoyan Ganev as yet. According to BTA, some SDS deputies who attended the meeting with Prof. Berov declared that even this opportunity of forming a government should be used, because the SDS is likely to lose its majority in the next elections.

Prof. Lyuben Berov, candidate for the post of prime minister, also met representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. The meeting has just finished. Prof. Berov reportedly expressed his views on a draft program for the new government.

Following the meeting, Mrs. Nora Ananieva told newsmen that the question of whether the BSP would support such a government depends on whether the requirement for a real change of policy would be fulfilled. No options for a new cabinet were discussed at that meeting, but Prof. Berov mentioned that he would retain some of the present ministers in his cabinet. Citing Mrs. Nora Ananieva, the situation is rather awkward, considering that Prof. Berov adopted the SDS program from the outset. On the other hand, the SDS political leadership declared that it would not support him as long

as he has not met the National Coordinating Council. It means that the National Coordinating Council reserves for itself the possibility of adopting a decisive stand on a government which is likely to be supported by the other parliamentary forces. This is what we have just heard from our reporter Olga Ivanova, who is watching the latest developments.

I know Mr. Berov. He frequently attends the Council of Ministers sessions on behalf of the president's office. I presume that he is acquainted with current events. Nevertheless, I am not aware that he has ever been involved in politics, or would be willing to be. This was the view expressed by outgoing Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov about the new candidate for the post of prime minister.

According to Mr. Filip Dimitrov, it would be quite normal if some of his cabinet members were invited to join the new government, but he did not wish to say which of them are likely to accept.

Minister: 'Entirely New Financial Policy' Likely*AU2412112092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 24 Dec 92*

[Kalina Stancheva report from Council of Ministers headquarters in Sofia]

[Excerpts] Good morning. As far as the gentlemen from the outgoing Council of Ministers are concerned, the festive atmosphere of the forthcoming holiday seems to inspire them with greater efficiency.

Within approximately three hours they examined approximately 20 items on their agenda. [passage omitted]

The greatest sensation in the lobbies of the Council of Ministers headquarters today was caused by a brief meeting between Prof. Lyuben Berov, the designated candidate for the post of prime minister, and the outgoing Finance Minister Ivan Kostov, who is one of his former students.

According to Mr. Kostov, who was interviewed following the meeting, the question of his successor in the post of finance minister was not discussed. Mr. Kostov added that the new cabinet, the list of which Prof. Berov intends to submit by Monday, 28 December, is not likely to pursue the outgoing government's financial policy. An entirely new financial policy is expected to be conducted. [passage omitted]

Slovak Foreign Minister Views Independent Policy

AU2312121692 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Dec 92 pp 1,11

[Interview with Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko by Julius Lörincz and Milan Rusko in Bratislava on 19 December: "Slovakia Enjoys Confidence and Has Been Given an Opportunity"]

[Text] Milan Knazko, Slovak deputy prime minister and foreign minister, held a news conference in Bratislava on Saturday [19 December] at which he discussed his diplomatic activity during the past week. He attended a meeting of CSCE foreign ministers in Stockholm, then he held talks at the Association of European Regions (ARE) in Brussels, and finally he attended a session of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC). We asked him for an interview after the news conference.

[PRAVDA] The Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic, successor states to the dissolving CSFR, have been incorporated into the Helsinki process as equal independent entities. Slovakia—into the bargain—has been accepted into the CSCE steering committee (alongside Sweden and Italy). What kind of obligations arise from this for your department and for you personally?

[Knazko] Slovakia has thus been internationally accepted as a partner for multilateral cooperation. We could not even have dreamed of this a few months ago. This is all the more important, because voices had been raised that cast doubt on Slovakia's status in the international context. This will be conducive to making sure we not only take an interest in ourselves, but also in the wider community, which is important for the rapid qualitative development of our foreign service. This is an unexpected and tremendous opportunity for us in our endeavor to incorporate Slovakia into international structures. The fact that we have succeeded in this is—without being immodest—a significant diplomatic triumph for this department.

It also testifies to our ability to conclude agreements with our partners in the Czech Republic, which we will support in its effort to become a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in 1994-96. Very specific work is associated with our activity in the CSCE "troika" and it will be necessary to supplement the staff in the appropriate department. This will also mean considerably more work for me personally.

[PRAVDA] Czech First Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Vondra said in Brussels that the Czech Republic's constant and long-term aim is membership in NATO. You said that Slovakia will strive for cooperation with the alliance within the framework of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. Is this, perhaps, an indication of differences between the two states in security policy?

[Knazko] First of all, NATO is not accepting into its ranks—and will not do so in the very near future—any Central and East European countries. In this situation, I

simply consider it inappropriate to assign ourselves unrealistic responsibilities. Let me again emphasize that we are immensely interested in cooperating with NATO at all levels. We also want to cooperate with all states pushing—just like NATO—for a pan-European security concept. That is, all the insinuations that Slovakia is embarking on a different path are unfounded and I unequivocally reject them.

[PRAVDA] At the conference in Stockholm involving CSCE foreign ministers, you spoke—among other things—about the Slovak proposal to objectively consider certain aspects of policy regarding the ethnic minorities in Europe. Why did you submit this proposal?

[Knazko] General claims that minority rights are not observed and that they are inadequate do not say anything and are misleading. The issue, therefore, involves creating a serious and matter-of-fact basis for discussing this matter. It will be necessary to make the evaluation of policy toward ethnic minorities in an entire region—for example, Central and East Europe, and not only Slovakia—more objective.

[PRAVDA] We read in the Hungarian press about that country's aggressive diplomatic steps throughout the world—for example, contacts in circles close to U.S. President-elect Bill Clinton are mentioned. They talk about the existence of a so-called Hungarian lobby. What can Slovak representatives abroad do in this regard, specifically, in the United States?

[Knazko] First and foremost, I would emphasize that as of 1 January next year we will have our own diplomatic representation in the United States, something Slovakia has not had before. We are in touch with certain companies that deal with public relations and can arrange meetings with people from political life and financial circles. This should assist the influx of investment in Slovakia and, in particular, should provide more objective information about the situation in our country. It is quite probable that a so-called lobby—which is often discussed in connection with Hungary—will also be established there by us.

[PRAVDA] Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said recently in a television interview that the Hungarian public must be aware of a feeling of danger in connection with the situation in neighboring states and, therefore, that the deployment of Hungarian defense forces is justified.

[Knazko] Undoubtedly, Mr. Antall was referring to the conflict in the former Yugoslav republics, especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Hungary is the immediate neighbor of the Yugoslav republics, so its fears—obviously—stem from this conflict. In no way would I relate this to the country's other neighbors.

[PRAVDA] The documents on the division of the CSFR's property abroad should be signed today. What is being divided, and on what principles has the division been implemented?

[Knazko] All property has been completely divided; that is, CSFR representative offices, commercial sections, and cultural and information centers. All the property has been divided at a ratio of 2:1, while accessories belonging to the real estate will remain where they are. This concerns, for

examples, pictures, fittings, and so on. The property was valued by an independent company chosen on the basis of a competition and acceptable to both sides. The representative offices were divided into three zones according to their importance. The first zone comprises the G7 states (United States, Canada, Japan, Germany, Great Britain, France, and Italy), our closest neighbors, Russia, and the UN missions. The second zone comprises the rest of Europe, and the third zone comprises the rest of the world.

[PRAVDA] In some cases, new buildings have been ceded to the Slovak Republic, but the historically known representative office sites—for example, in Paris and Belgrade—have been ceded to the Czech Republic. Are there any cases where the opposite applies?

[Knazko] Such division cannot take place without compromises. For example, we acquired the current CSFR embassy buildings in Rome, Ottawa, and Budapest.

[PRAVDA] In brief, what is the timetable for establishing the Slovak Republic's representative offices?

[Knazko] One of the main things is having enough people capable of guaranteeing the offices' operation from the day they open. In November and December 120 people from Slovakia entered into various posts in CSFR representative offices for several weeks of training. We are counting on a certain number of staff who have worked until now in the Federal Foreign Ministry and have experience. We have done everything to ensure work can begin at 60 of our representative offices.

[PRAVDA] Where else will we be represented?

[Knazko] Apart from the aforementioned G7 countries, Japan, and Europe, we will also be represented—for example—in China, Thailand, South Korea, Indonesia, Vietnam, India, Australia, Iraq, Egypt, Syria, Kenya, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina, and in other countries. Many countries have promised to recognize us on 1 January next year—and in several cases the appropriate notes have already been exchanged.

[PRAVDA] Mr. Knazko, a question was asked at the news conference in connection with the fact that the Slovak National Party has shown its interest in filling the post of foreign minister with one of its own candidates. What is your point of view?

[Knazko] I am pleased that many people consider my post to be attractive. Of course, it is possible to hold talks on all things. Politics today is a vital process that brings with it minor changes, even unexpected changes. We have to be prepared for this, and I firmly believe that—in this regard—everything will always be dealt with in a well-considered manner.

KDH Issues Declaration on Independent Slovakia
AU2312165792 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 21 Dec 92 p 1

["Declaration of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] on the Occasion of the Establishment of the Independent Slovak Republic"; date not given]

[Text] In the history of nations and individuals, there are moments when we must stop and reflect in silence. In the life of nations, there are moments when these nations rise to live new lives or begin to decline.

Before a child is born people reflect on whether it is a proper time for this child to come into the world, and after he is born, everyone shows love for him and accepts him without reservations. Those are the feelings of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] with which it welcomes the establishment of the Slovak Republic as of 1 January.

The history of Slovakia is one of rising and falling. It is even ominous how short-lived were all those attempts of the Slovaks to rise—the uprising of Stur supporters, establishment of the Slovak Heritage Foundation, hopes of the Slovaks after 1918, establishment of the Slovak Republic in 1939, treaties after 1945, and the federation in 1968. Despite this, it has never been possible to stop or weaken the national will for self-realization, which led to the culmination of the aspirations. In the existing atmosphere of disintegrating state units and newly nascent countries, Slovakia had to confront this fact.

After the fall of communism in 1989, during the time of freedom, it was natural that the question of self-determination and statehood would become a question of great importance.

It is no secret that attitudes and opinions regarding this problem differed in Slovakia, and included all kinds of models and time schedules.

The KDH was the first to express its vision of statehood by taking gradual steps within the context of European integration. The events after 1992 moved at such a fast pace that today we can only say that Slovak statehood is becoming reality.

The KDH greets the establishment of the new Slovak Republic.

The establishment of the Slovak Republic will be linked to many difficulties and will put all Slovaks and nations living on this territory to the test.

The KDH wants to spread hope and encouragement in its neighborhood.

We want to contribute to making Slovakia a prosperous, pluralistic, democratic, and tolerant society. We are convinced that our country has the prerequisites for such a future. In this spirit, we are going to distinguish between statehood and those who represent it.

We want to do our best to enhance Slovak statehood in conformity with European traditions.

According to Christian principles, which are the basis of our political line, we want to spread understanding between the Slovak nation and other nationalities. We want to strive for peaceful coexistence with neighboring countries and states.

On 1 January 1993, we will specifically pray to God in our prayers: God, bless the Slovak land!

Jeszzenszky Comments on Washington Talks

LD2412110292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszzenszky by correspondent Miklos Martin-Kovacs in Washington; date not given; recorded]

[Excerpts] [Martin-Kovacs] What do you think of the fact that the number two State Department man in the Carter administration, namely Warren Christopher, has been chosen by Bill Clinton as secretary of state?

[Jeszzenszky] [passage omitted] The fact that a man who is experienced, who has occupied a responsible position in the State Department has been put at the head of foreign policy, is understandable, natural, and definitely also reassuring. So if anyone was scared that in America, well-intentioned inexperienced new people would come in—and we can see that not only the secretary of state but also the person responsible for economic matters is a very experienced elder politician—we can see that experience and youth and dynamism is well forged, at least on the level of what is now promised.

[Martin-Kovacs] What was your experience during your talks in Washington? What can be felt regarding the foreign policy of the Clinton Administration—first and foremost regarding a solution to the Bosnian or the Balkan crisis, which is very important from our point of view?

[Jeszzenszky] Well, I am not really competent to speak on this question. I can say that our talks today were very serious, and that the Americans are making very thorough preparations for the task awaiting them. It was quite the opposite of a protocol-type meeting—not only was it a working meeting; there was no time taken up with niceties. They were very interested in detail in our opinion, and the questions they asked show that they know what they are undertaking and also know the tasks and dilemmas they will meet. [passage omitted]

[Martin-Kovacs] How far was it possible to bring out the Hungarian aspects at the White House talks? [passage omitted]

[Jeszzenszky] This delegation had a particular nature because we represented at the same time the Central European initiative, the central European countries, and also our own countries. [passage omitted] It was much more effective, for in the end it was not just a few bigger or smaller countries speaking, but a group of countries—for example, on the basis of the free trade agreement

signed yesterday—representing a free trade bloc of over 60 million. [passage omitted]

[Martin-Kovacs] During your talks, did you assess that the United States would like to keep eastern-central Europe as an area of its interest? [passage omitted]

[Jeszzenszky] We were only able just to touch on those questions in our discussions. The American side is definitely receptive to those Central European arguments I have often outlined, and was able to outline here. [passage omitted] Central Europe now expects America to stay in, to participate in, its economy, security policy, as a country, and also as a leading member of NATO. [passage omitted]

Government Recognizes Czech, Slovak Republics

LD2312152492 Budapest MTI in English 1419 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, December 23 (MTI)—Hungary diplomatically recognises the Czech and Slovak Republics becoming sovereign as of 1 January 1993, according to three verbal messages given to Czechoslovak Federal Foreign Ministry officials by Hungarian Embassy diplomats on Wednesday.

The note addressed to the federal ministry requests it to forward two replies to the Czech and the Slovak Foreign Ministries answering their respective messages dated 18 December.

The two messages were also forwarded to Hungary by the Czechoslovak Federal Foreign Ministry.

In the messages, the two foreign ministries asked Budapest to recognise the two successor states and to establish diplomatic ties with both.

In its replies, Hungary says it is fully ready to comply. Hungary regards the exchange of notes as an agreement to establish diplomatic ties as of 1 January 1993.

According to the note sent to Slovakia, "living side by side for many centuries, the two nations have created common spiritual and material treasures of invaluable measure. The Government of the Republic of Hungary is convinced these are common treasures belonging to both nations. From now on, the sovereign states, free to make their own decisions, have all opportunities to fully develop the creative powers of the Hungarian and the Slovak nations, and to seek the path to success together in the Carpathian basin and in Europe."

The Hungarian consulate general in Bratislava turns into an embassy to be headed by a charge d'affaires ad interim as of 1 January.

Walesa Writes To Yeltsin on Bilateral Ties*LD2312093792 Warsaw PAP in English 0528 GMT 23 Dec 92*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 22—President Lech Walesa has sent a letter to Russia's President Boris Yeltsin, expressing his commitment to maintaining good relations and close cooperation with Russia, the Presidential Press Office announced Tuesday. President Walesa pointed to a number of concrete questions requiring cooperation, placing special accent on economic issues. He also expressed his full support for President Yeltsin's striving for implementing democratic reforms in Russia.

Skubiszewski Cites Talks in U.S. on Yugoslavia*AU2412110192 Warsaw PAP in English 1945 GMT 23 Dec 92*

[Text] Warsaw, dec. 23—The foreign ministers of the countries belonging to the Central European initiative—Poland, Austria, Slovenia and Hungary—during their visit to the United States wanted to counteract "Europe's getting used to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia," Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski said on Wednesday after returning from the U.S.

The ministers who went to the U.S. to talk about chances of ending the war in the Balkans met the UN secretary general, the president of the UN Security Council and the American President, and suggested that the international community should use force in solving the conflict.

More drastic measures to execute the UN Security Council resolution may only help in preventing further violation of human rights in the area and forming repressive regimes there, the minister added.

When asked in what cases the UN may use force, Skubiszewski replied that he meant enforcement of the ban on Serbian military aircraft, but the UN should start with preventive measures to make Serbia realize what can happen in the future.

According to him, the UN should also make better use of its network of observers in the area to be able to prevent any new conflicts.

Government To Recognize Czech, Slovak Republics*LD2412132792 Warsaw PAP in English 1257 GMT 24 Dec 92*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 24—Poland will recognize the Czech and Slovak republics on January 1, 1993, Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski said at a meeting with Ambassador of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic to Poland Marketa Fialkova on Thursday, Polish Foreign Affairs Ministry announced.

The minister handed over to the ambassador appropriate diplomatic notes concerning the recognition of the two states.

The Polish side also expressed its will to establish full diplomatic relations with the two new republics.

Suchocka, Slovak Premier Discuss Future Relations*WS2212133992 Warsaw INFORMACJA PRASOWA in Polish 1738 GMT 20 Dec 92*

[Text] On 20 December 1992, at 1230 GMT in Polana Zdroj, a day before the signing of the Central European Free Trade Agreement, Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka met with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

Prime Minister H. Suchocka ensured Prime Minister Meciar that the Polish Government would recognize the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic as separate states after the Czecho-Slovak federation had ceased to exist and would establish official diplomatic relations with these states.

The meeting was part of ongoing political consultations between Poland and Slovakia. This time the meeting was held at the highest level. Previous consultations took place on the following occasions: the recent visit to Poland by Milan Knazko, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs; the visit to Slovakia by a delegate of the Senate of the Republic of Poland; and the visit by Iwo Byczewski, deputy minister of foreign affairs, in October 1992. Poland is conducting similar consultations with the Czech Republic.

During the talks, the Polish side emphasized its interest in maintaining very good neighborly relations with Slovakia, with which we are linked by the longest border. Poland hopes that the cooperation conducted on the basis of mutual advantages will result in better cooperation along the near-border areas as well as in building more border crossing sites.

Prime Minister Meciar informed Prime Minister H. Suchocka about Slovakia's concept for foreign policy, especially with regard to the Central European region.

The Polish side offered to share with the Slovak side its experiences in transforming the economic system into a free market economy.

In view of the liquidation of the Czecho-Slovak federation, Poland is seen by the international community as a stabilizing factor in this region of Europe. Poland wants, therefore, to give assistance to the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic, is interested in their problems, and wishes them the best in resolving them.

Suchocka on Abortion, Privatization, Black Market

PM2212152092 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 17 Dec 92 p 32

[Interview with Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka by Hakan Forsberg in Warsaw; no date given]

[Text] Warsaw—"I have always been opposed to abortion. But I am also opposed to punishing abortions," said Hanna Suchocka, Poland's first woman prime minister, a previously unknown lawyer and Sejm deputy whom President Lech Walesa pulled out of his sleeve after a month-long government crisis last summer.

[Forsberg] But you are also opposed to holding a referendum. Would it not be better to let the people decide this difficult question?

[Suchocka] I am opposed to a referendum because I consider that the Polish people have gone through many "wars," wars between political parties, so-called war at the top. I fear that a referendum on the abortion issue would bring this war down to the grass roots. That is why it would be much better if this question could be resolved by parliament.

A referendum would be the first round of an election campaign and would be used by the political parties for this—and would not simply be about the abortion question.

[Forsberg] Does the "little constitution" give the government better working conditions than hitherto?

[Suchocka] It gives greater stability to the government, makes the government less dependent on parliament. It creates a system of checks and balances among the various branches of power. The little constitution sets out more clearly the division of responsibility between the government and the president. It also gives greater powers to the president when it comes to choosing a government. It also gives the government the power to issue decrees without first asking parliament.

[Forsberg] You are trying to reach an agreement with the trade unions so that they will not rock the boat. What is the thrust of this so-called "state enterprises pact"?

[Suchocka] First, it means that the government will withdraw from the management of the state enterprises. This is an important part of the government's way of working. The second thing is to offer a series of different privatization methods, so that employees are able to vote for the method which they consider best for them. Naturally we realize the need to reconstruct large enterprises, since this is often a prerequisite for their privatization. This applies particularly to the major industries, such as the metal industry or mines.

Another part of the free market economy is unemployment. Here the government cannot simply stand on the sidelines looking on. We intend to create new jobs in areas hard hit by unemployment—also by using foreign capital. Foreigners will enjoy tax relief if they invest in municipalities with high unemployment.

[Forsberg] Poland has a large black or gray economy. What do you intend to do to put this right? Does it also mean that Poland is richer than statistics show?

[Suchocka] We are currently trying to interpret and identify the black market better. I believe that the gray or black economy was at its biggest just after the introduction of a market economy, but that it is smaller today.

Of course it could be the case that Poland is richer than the official statistics show. I believe that what you see on the streets here shows that—for example, more cars from the West than in other Eastern European states.

But in order to break the back of this black or gray zone we have to put state finances and tax controls in order. Instead of a few individuals becoming richer, we have to create a situation in which everyone pays what they should to the state.

Work Resumes in Some Mines; Strikes Continue

AU2412110492 Warsaw PAP in English 1235 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 23—Twelve mines in the Katowice Province resumed work this morning but strike continue in all the remaining collieries of the region. Adam Jawor, spokesman for the strike committee of Miners' Solidarity, said on Wednesday.

According to Jawor, all in all 21 mines are to resume work to ensure supplies of coal necessary to keep the operation of coking plants, steel mills and heating plants.

However, member of the strike committee presidium Adam Zielonka warned that extraction will continue only until December 30 to allow steel mills and coking plants to accumulate reserves of coal necessary to maintain technological processes.

Later on, extraction will stop if the strike continues, he said.

Meanwhile, negotiations resumed in Warsaw on Wednesday [23 December] between Labour Minister Jacek Kuron, the general director of the PKP Polish State Railways, and representatives of the Solidarity union of railwaymen.

Continuing strikes by rail workers in Silesia on Tuesday halted some 150 cargo trains. Only trains carrying coal for the coking plants and steel mills of Silesia were allowed to pass.

Today's negotiations at the Labour Ministry are a continuation of the discussion started on Monday concerning the list of 12 demands submitted to the government by Solidarity. The most important on the list is the demand to halt the fall of real wages and employment reduction in PKP.

According to member of the regional strike committee Jozef Szczepanski, it cannot be expected that all the demands presented by the railwaymen will be discussed today.

The possible full suspension of the strike by rail workers in Silesia will depend on the results of the government's talks with Solidarity's National Commission, to be held after Christmas, he said.

Warning strikes continued today in Silesian steel mills.

Ministry Hails UN Resolution on Minority Rights*AU2312130092 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 23 Dec 92*

[Text] The Foreign Ministry spokesman has announced that Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs salutes the adoption on the basis of consensus, during the current session of the United Nations General Assembly, of the resolution coauthored by numerous states, including Romania, adopting the declaration concerning the rights of persons belonging to ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities.

The spokesman highlighted the fact that the adoption through consensus of the aforementioned declaration coincides with similar, past and current efforts made at the national level by Romania, such as the adoption of the new constitution and the introduction of other regulations and administrative measures to protect human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities. Romania considers the UN declaration a fundamental document setting international standards in that field. The fact that Romania is a coauthor of the declaration proves that our country endorses those requirements and that it is determined to implement them, the communique of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concludes.

Defense Minister on 'Excellent' Ties With Hungary*AU2312134392 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Dec 92 p 2*

["Exclusive" interview with Romanian Defense Minister Nicolae Spiroiu by Zoltan Fekete in Bucharest; date not given: "Freedom, Security, Walls"]

[Text] Romanian Defense Minister Nicolae Spiroiu received our correspondent recently and willingly discussed the issue of military contacts between Hungary and Romania and also controversial issues. Among other things, he denied the rumors that Bucharest was allegedly arming against Hungary.

[Fekete] You have become one of the most popular Romanian politicians in Hungary since your interview for ROMANIA LIBERA in which you said that there is no real Hungarian threat and that this only exists in the political and electoral campaigns of some extremist elements.

[Spiroiu] Of course, I was aware that not everyone would like my statements. I based them mainly on the fact that the relations between the two armies and two defense ministries are excellent. Through this cooperation, I clearly see the way Hungarian officers and responsible

politicians are thinking. I am sure that General Cioflina's visit to Budapest and State Secretary Raffay's visit to Bucharest in the past two weeks have confirmed my opinion.

[Fekete] Many people doubt that there are indeed excellent relations between the two armies....

[Spiroiu] They have no reason to doubt this. We signed our military cooperation plan for 1993 recently and, with every step, we would like to dismantle the walls that are separating us, and do it while safeguarding our peoples' freedom and security. The Romanians' objective is to get into Europe together with the Hungarians.

[Fekete] Does this mean that Hungary need not fear the Romanian Army, which is three times as big as Hungary's?

[Spiroiu] Hungary can be absolutely secure as far as Romania is concerned, because we based ourselves on mutual confidence. I expect a similar statement from Hungarian Defense Minister Lajos Fur, so that the two countries can live peacefully.

[Fekete] The Western press has reported that Romania is supplying former Yugoslavia with weapons and fuel in violation of the UN embargo. Is there any truth behind these rumors?

[Spiroiu] I can assure you that Yugoslavia does not receive weapons and spare parts from us. The weapons and weapon systems in Romania are strictly controlled internationally. No Romanian-made weapons are to be found in the Yugoslav region.

[Fekete] Mentioning reliable sources, Romania Mare party leader Corneliu Vadim Tudor claims that a NATO base was under construction at the Romanian seaside town of Agigea. Is this also groundless information?

[Spiroiu] It is like the rumors spread about you in Romania, namely that commando units that could be deployed against us are being trained in Hungary. As far as I know, there is not a single NATO base in Romania; we have always been striving for partnership relations with this organization, and we hope that our neighbors think the same.

[Fekete] Could you envisage the deployment of the Romanian Army in a national minority conflict?

[Spiroiu] It would be completely out of question. The Romanian defense concept focuses solely on our country's defense, and we have no intention of invasion whatsoever.

[Fekete] When will you visit Hungary?

[Spiroiu] I do not know yet. I have been waiting for Mr. Lajos Fur to visit Bucharest since the spring of 1991. I hope he will visit us for at least a weekend.

Karadzic To Probe 'Crimes' of Baker, Eagleburger
LD2312210692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1623 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic (in Bosnia-Herzegovina), told a news conference held in the international press center in Belgrade today that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina will last "as long as the international community wants—for a week, or for many years." [passage omitted]

The letter [from the Government of the Serb Republic to Clinton] says that the Serb Republic intends to consider whether "to instigate a procedure for establishing responsibility for the war and other crimes" of Acting U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, former U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, (former) German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, his Austrian counterpart Alois Mock, and others.

Stressing that Serbs remain resolute in their intention to immediately end the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadzic voiced his view that the Muslim side will do everything to find an excuse not to participate in Geneva negotiations convened for 2 January. Croats are willing to make peace, but not Muslims, who want to dominate all Bosnia-Herzegovina, and for that reason they are sustaining the state of war, Karadzic said.

He assessed that, by prolonging the sufferings of citizens in Sarajevo, the Muslim side wants to cause concern among the international public, and to bring about foreign military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Talking about the position of blue helmets in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadzic said he could not conceive of Serb soldiers opening fire on "their old allies—British, French, Americans."

However, in the case of an outside intervention, a confusing situation would emerge, in which I am not sure whether any foreigner would be safe in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadzic said.

The president of the Serb Republic stressed that with regard to the Yugoslav crisis, the U.S. Administration has been unsuccessful. "I do not believe that Clinton will want to follow such an unsuccessful policy," Karadzic said. He stressed that the Serb side has released more than 5,000 people from POW camps, and Muslims only 24 Serbs. Karadzic said that 500 Manjaca inmates, "who are war criminals," were sent to other prisons.

To Seek Removal of NATO Troops From UN Force

LD2312171992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] told a news conference held in the international press center in Belgrade today that the war in

Bosnia-Herzegovina will last "as long as the international community wants—for a week or for many years."

If the international community were to treat all sides equally, the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina would end in seven days, Karadzic said.

He expressed his view that NATO soldiers who belong to the United Nations forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be replaced by soldiers from countries which did not express their preference for military intervention in that former Yugoslav republic.

More on Karadzic Accusations

AU2312164092 Paris AFP in English 1610 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 23 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leaders are planning to demand the withdrawal from U.N. contingents from NATO nations which are "hostile to the Serbs," Radovan Karadzic, self-declared leader of the Bosnian Serbs, said Wednesday.

U.N. troops from NATO countries should be replaced by troops "from countries which have not spoken in favour of military intervention," Karadzic said.

He read from a "letter of intent" by Bosnian Serb leaders which said they "intended to examine the possibility of asking U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali to have forces from these (NATO) countries replaced by forces from countries which do not intend to make war against the Serbs."

Several leading members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation have been pressing for armed intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina to prevent Serbian aircraft from flying into a no-fly zone declared by the United Nations over the embattled former Yugoslav republic.

The letter argued that the use of force to impose the no-fly zone would be "an act of hostility towards Serbian people."

It described as "monstrous lies" the numerous allegations that Serbs had systematically raped Moslem women in detention camps, and challenged the international community to find "even a single case of organised rape, or a single woman civilian in our prisons."

The letter said they planned to "take proceedings for crimes and war crimes" against several international figures including U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, Eagleburger's predecessor James Baker, former German foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his Austrian counterpart Alois Mock.

It said there was no British name on the list of personalities the Serbs intended to pursue because of Britain's "refined diplomacy."

Since the eruption of fighting in Bosnia last April, Britain has taken the lead in Europe in arguing against

military intervention to protect the Moslem and Croat populations against the heavily armed, Belgrade-backed Serb forces.

Foreign Minister Cites Meeting With Gore

LD2312223592 Zagreb HTV Television in
Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Interview with Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic by unidentified Croatian Television correspondent; date, place not given; recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Good evening, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina Haris Silajdzic. Minister, the Western media say that there is no need for military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They say the war is coming to an end. Is that true?

[Silajdzic] I am in contact with these media and my impression is not like that. In Bosnia-Herzegovina we are talking about genocide against the non-Serb population. We are forced to go on defending ourselves for as long as the aggression lasts. The West must intervene and it must lift the arms embargo in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Correspondent] You have just returned from the United States. There you were asked about relations between the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. What was your reply?

[Silajdzic] I always reply that these are friendly, neighborly, allied relations and that difficulties are being overcome.

[Correspondent] You had talks, and that is not a secret, with Vice President-elect Gore. What did you discuss with him?

[Silajdzic] Yes, that meeting did take place. I am bound not to disclose the details, but I can say that I am encouraged by the full and good insight which Mr. Gore and the Clinton administration have into our situation.

[Correspondent] Minister, thank you for being the guest of the News Program.

Hadzic Congratulates Milosevic on Reelection

LD2412103192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in
Serbo-Croatian 1839 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—Goran Hadzic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], today sent a telegram to Slobodan Milosevic congratulating him on his reelection as president of the Republic of Serbia, the ISKRA agency [of Krajina] reports.

The RSK people, with gratitude and respect for all that you have done so far for the Serbian nation, welcome your reelection as president of Serbia, convinced of the dignified victory of the policy of peace, truth, and self-respect, and the path to the creation of a union of Serbian states, Hadzic says in his message, carried by ISKRA.

"Esteemed president, I can assure you that the Serbs of the western part of our fatherland will remain on the ramparts of the first outpost of Serbia in the face of all dangers and challenges," Hadzic stresses.

Commander's Absence From Tripartite Talks Explained

AU2312165892 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Yesterday's absence of Sefer Halilovic, commander of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Armed Forces, from the signing of the agreement on the demilitarization of the airport occurred as a result of an UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] mistake and does not mean a rejection of the plan.

During the setting up of the combined military group for negotiations by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the Croatian Defense Council and the aggressor, it was agreed that the representatives who were meeting in the meanwhile should work out all the details of the agreement and formulate the entire text, and then the commanders would put their signatures on the finalized document. This is announced in today's statement by the Supreme Command.

However, in the talks two days ago, the aggressor refused to make its position clear regarding the UNPROFOR proposal, which had earlier been accepted by both the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council, so it was completely unclear before yesterday's meeting whether the agreement would be accepted. In other words, Chief of Staff Halilovic had no reason to attend these negotiations since the plan had not been accepted by all sides at the lower level. [words indistinct] all details of the agreement had still not been agreed upon even after the aggressor gave in to international pressure and agreed to the proposal laid down by UNPROFOR on the demilitarized zones. UNPROFOR's document says that the cease-fire of 10 November should be reactivated and the current military situation put on ice. However, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army cannot accept the latter, since the freezing of the current situation would mean that their military forces would remain on the captured front lines, that is, the territories captured by force would be legitimized.

The next meeting of the combined military group should take place tomorrow and the remaining unclear points should be agreed upon. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has given its consent in principle to the UNPROFOR proposal that accepts the conditions set which mean that the demilitarization should include Ilidza, [word indistinct], Nedjarici, Sokolovic Kolonija, Dobrinja and Butmir.

Battlefronts 'Relatively Calm' 23 Dec

LD2312150992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1412
GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, December 23 (TANJUG)—Most battlefronts around towns in the north-eastern part of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina were relatively calm on Wednesday. TANJUG correspondents reported only sporadic fire in the area, which had been the scene of fighting between Serb and Moslem forces over the past two weeks.

On Wednesday morning, Moslem forces launched fresh attacks only on the battlefront near Mt. Majevisa. They opened fire from the occupied Serb village of Rastosnica on the nearby village of Cerik. Serb Army sources said that the attack was repulsed. There have been no reports on casualties.

During the night, artillery fire was opened on the border towns of Brcko and Orasje from the left bank of the River Sava, i.e. neighbouring Republic of Croatia. The situation in the area of Doboj was reported mostly calm. Moslem forces only made provocations in Teslic and Maglaj in northern Bosnia on Wednesday.

A Moslem offensive from Srebrenica was halted in the area of Foca and Kalinovik in eastern Bosnia on Wednesday. During the offensive, Moslem forces last week massacred 109 Serb civilians, mostly women, children and old people. Sporadic attacks are still being made on Serb villages of Dobro Polje, Miljevina and Ustikolina, said the Herzegovina corps command. During the night, the army of neighbouring Croatia opened fire from mortars, heavy and small arms on Serb positions near Trebinje, said the source.

Moslem forces on Wednesday used the same kind of weapons to continue provocations from the direction of Mostar towards Capljina in eastern Herzegovina. The Herzegovina corps command warned that the Croat-Moslem forces were bringing in reinforcements to central Bosnian region around Sarajevo and the area of Mostar in western Herzegovina, which is controlled by Croats.

'All-Out' Muslim Attack on Bratunac 24 Dec

LD2412124992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1224
GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Bratunac, Zvornik, December 24 (TANJUG)—At 6.30 a.m. local time on Thursday [24 December], Moslem forces launched an all-out artillery and infantry attack along the entire defence line of the Serb community of Bratunac in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serb military sources have said.

This is the second frontal attack over the past ten days on Serb villages in the area of Bratunac on the left bank of the river Drina, the natural border between Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

Early last week, Moslems from neighbouring Srebrenica massacred a large number of Serb civilians, mostly women, children and old people, in villages around Bratunac.

Since then, they have repeatedly opened fire across the Drina River on the territory of the municipality of Ljubovija in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

In Thursday's attacks, around 30 artillery and mortar shells of various calibres fell on Bratunac. Serb forces are responding to all attacks and firmly holding their positions, said Serb sources.

There are no official reports as yet about possible casualties and damage in Bratunac.

The situation in the Serb municipality of Zvornik, another town on the Bosnian side of the Drina river basin, was relatively calm on Thursday morning.

On Wednesday night and in the early hours on Thursday, however, Moslem green berets made provocations along the Zvornik-Drinjaca road.

Serb military sources said that traffic on the road from Zvornik to Pale, the political centre of Bosnian Serbs near Sarajevo, proceeded normally but with increased security.

Kucan Speaks After Swearing-In as President*AU2312215292 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in
Slovene 2100 GMT 23 Dec 92*

[Vesna Burnik report]

[Excerpts] [Begin recording] [Burnik] About an hour ago, Slovene President Milan Kucan took his oath before the members of the Slovene Parliament.

In his address he warned of the main tasks awaiting Slovenia in the future, singling out economic strength and success, prosperity, and the observation of human rights. Slovenia must also find its place in the world, Milan Kucan said and warned that the world does not like countries suffering from internal disputes.

[Kucan] The vision of Slovenia, therefore, cannot be tailored to suit only one party, but must be to everybody's liking and count on everybody's cooperation. There must be room for the coexistence of different options, interests, and beliefs in Slovenia. This requires an organized civilian democracy and free media. It is the task of the government to organize and secure room for political dialogue on such matters and focal point of this would be a multiparty parliament. Nobody can and should be excluded from this dialogue. Nobody should be prevented from participating or hindered merely because he holds different opinions. We are too few and have paid too high a price in the past. Without this it will not be possible to create a country that would be friendly to its citizens so that they will thus view the country as their own, will enjoy living in it, and will, because it will be successful and efficient, also be willing to keep it running.

We have set the logic right. A state should exist for the sake of its citizens and should act where it is needed. Those who are not willing to take part in this political dialogue and reject cooperation assume the responsibility in front of their voters and the entire public and run the risk of losing trust and legitimacy.

[Burnik] [passage omitted] The State Chamber spent practically the entire day discussing the chairman and vice-chairmen of the chamber. In the provisional procedural rules they agreed to have three posts of vice-chairmen. The United List and the Slovene Christian Democrats will propose their candidates for two of the posts, while the rest of the parties will compete for the third post. [passage omitted] The Commission for Elections and Appointments endorsed the candidacy of Herman Rigelnik [current deputy prime minister] as chairman of the State Chamber. The Christian Democrats proposed Lojze Peterle [head of Christian Democrats] for the chairman of the State Chamber. In a secret ballot, the deputies cast 48 votes [out of 90] to elect Herman Rigelnik as chairman of the State Chamber. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Commentary Views Serbian Election Results*AU2312184292 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in
Slovene 1430 GMT 22 Dec 92*

[Edo Zitnik commentary]

[Text] The first truth about the presidential and parliamentary elections in Serbia is that the Serbian president, in spite of speculations to the contrary, which as ever proved to be a great illusion, still enjoys the support of the majority of the Serbian electorate. Despite immense internal and external pressures, economic collapse, war, and international isolation, President Milosevic on this occasion once again transformed the elections into his own personal triumph and a democratic confirmation of the correctness of his policy.

Even though Prime Minister Panic, the entire opposition, and international observers are protesting about alleged irregularities, it would be just another great illusion to believe that the results of the elections would have been significantly different had the electoral procedures been executed correctly.

Panic, the watery Serbian opposition, and practically the entire international community from Moscow to Brussels to Washington, by participating in the elections simply backed the only and wrong horse. With the strong likelihood that there will be the imminent departure of Panic, by means of whom Milosevic won a few precious months' time unscathed by the West, or even if he does not go, the West is now losing its last excuse for tolerating Serbian expansionism.

Washington, which in Panic has lost its last joker in the Balkans, will now probably be compelled to make more aggressive moves, since the post-election period will obviously be working for the Serbian president and the price of any possible firmer moves by the West will grow higher. The United States, which, after Sunday's elections in Serbia, has lost its emperor's new clothes, will simply have to move in the face of such an incredible foreign affairs fiasco as the former Yugoslavia has turned into. It is no longer merely Bosnia-Herzegovina that is at stake. President Milosevic, and they have known in the White House all the time, will simply have to find an emergency exit through a new war because of the escalation of the internal political situation and because of the economic embargo. Then there will no longer be any time for the missions of these special UN envoys, which have served no purpose whatsoever, as the war will spread all over the Balkans and perhaps even further afield.

It is precisely for this reason that the results of Sunday's elections in Serbia could be viewed as a last cry for sanity, which must have been heard in Washington.

Federal

TANJUG Views Warren Christopher's Appointment

LD2312134092 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0926 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—Clinton's decision to choose Warren Christopher as the new secretary of state is being seen in both the United States and Europe as the only possible logical move for the new boss in the White House. Those who know the American political scene well insist that at this moment the Democrats have no more experienced and more suitable personality than Christopher to lead the U.S. diplomatic service. [passage omitted]

As for the U.S. attitude to the Yugoslav crisis, it is not immaterial to mention that Christopher was the closest aide to Cyrus Vance, currently one of the two co-chairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia. It is true that President Bush gave a green light for Vance to be appointed as the UN secretary general's personal envoy to former Yugoslavia. However, subsequently Bush and Vance failed to see eye to eye as regards the efforts to resolve the Yugoslav crisis. It is a well known fact that it was Vance who sharply criticized the Bush Administration for recognizing Bosnia-Herzegovina's independence prematurely.

As a result of his attitude, at one stage Vance found himself on thin ice but was nevertheless later appointed co-chairman of the conference on former Yugoslavia. In view of the fact that they know each other well and that they worked together for a long time and, finally, that they both come from the same side, i.e., the Democratic Party, it is to be expected that they will understand each other better regarding the administration's future moves in the process of resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

In any case, the least that can be expected from Warren Christopher is that he should refrain from making unmeasured statements as current Secretary of State Eagleburger has been doing. If they really wish to help to resolve the Yugoslav crisis and especially to bring the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina to an end, the Americans must fundamentally change their attitude to these problems. Warren Christopher is said to be ready to make all kinds of changes.

Federal Army Ready To Respond To 'Aggression'

LD2312143292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—Chief of the General Staff [CGS] of the Yugoslav Army Colonel-General Zivota Panic said in an interview for BORBA daily, to be published tomorrow, that the Yugoslav Army has been for some time in a state of alert, ready to respond with its military might to a possible aggression.

"Although any military intervention on the territory of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would be illogical and would risk spreading war to the entire European continent and further afield, the Yugoslav Army has been for some time in a state of alert, ready to respond with its military might to any possible aggression. The main objective of such a possible action would be to exterminate, under UN auspices, the Serbian people wherever it lives. This is a fact that we cannot ignore and for which we must be prepared," General Panic said.

The more aware we are of this fact and the more the Serbian nation is united, the less likely such an aggression will be, the CGS asserted. "Competent bodies and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia president in his capacity as the supreme commander will decide about a possible engagement of the Yugoslav Army outside the FRY territory."

"I personally believe that the Yugoslav Army cannot remain on the sidelines if the biological survival of the Serb people in Bosnia-Herzegovina is threatened," General Panic said. The CGS stressed that the Yugoslav Army does not decide between parties or personalities, but seeks a consistent observance of the existing constitution.

Serbia

Electoral Commission Rejects Panic's Objections

AU2412131792 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] The republican Electoral Commission today rejected the objection by presidential candidate Milan Panic concerning the electoral procedure. In his complaint, Milan Panic stated that the electoral committees were sending the electoral materials, including registers from the polling stations, to the communal electoral units and not directly to the electoral commission of the relevant electoral unit, that is to say, the republican Electoral Commission, which is the only commission in charge of the presidential elections.

The republican Electoral Commission takes the view that by performing the duties that were entrusted to them, the communal electoral commissions did not perform any procedural work and that therefore their inclusion only has technical significance, which does not affect the electoral procedure.

Foreign Minister Comments on Elections Outcome

AU2312175292 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Dec 92

["Excerpt" from interview with Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic for Radio Jugoslavija; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] The result of the elections does not mean that Serbia has shifted to the right but is an expression of Serbia's resistance toward such a biased, one-sided, and selective policy of intimidation and punishment. If the West wants to understand the outcome of the elections correctly, it will first have to re-examine its entire policy thus far toward the Yugoslav crisis and realize that it has failed to resolve this crisis as it could within 24 hours by simultaneously recognizing the right of self-determination to all state-forming peoples of Yugoslavia. Had this been done, had the Serbian people outside the Republic of Serbia and present Yugoslavia had the same rights as other peoples, then we could have said goodbye to the Yugoslav crisis over a glass of champagne.

The West, that is to say, the international community, would not accept this, because there were many interests resurrected by the united Germany standing in the background, a Germany which wanted another attempt to gain the influence and interests that it had failed to achieve in its two earlier military expeditions in the south Balkans. Therefore, these elections and their results, if understood correctly, could be an important factor in favor of peace and the overall political settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

There is a shortcut here, peace is within our grasp. Everything can be resolved in a very short period of time by cooperating with the Serbian authorities and not by antagonizing them. It has been proven that antagonizing the authorities, the Republic of Serbia, and all the Serbian people, leads nowhere. Why is it then that the obvious solution to the crisis is not embraced, namely, that the Serbian people be equally acknowledged as other nations, its rights equally observed, and the legitimate and legal authorities in Serbia accepted as a partner open for negotiations and a reasonable compromise instead of an imaginary opponent, which Serbia is not but others would like to make it at all costs?

Therefore, if foreign elements and the foreign press were to use the results of these elections as a basis for some constructive re-examination of the policy thus far toward the Yugoslav crisis, then this could be a real and constructive contribution toward the settlement of the crisis in a objective and just manner. We—the current authorities in Serbia, and I believe the authorities that will take office after the elections—are an absolutely competent partner for a peaceful and political settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. The removal of the uncertainty on the Yugoslav side and the political stabilization that is expected after the elections will allow these authorities to be seen and accepted as genuinely competent authorities exclusively dedicated to a peaceful and political settlement of the crisis. But in order to last, such a peaceful resolution of the crisis must be just.

In view of this, I expect that some leading forces in the international community will inevitably re-examine their approach toward the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

Commentary Hails Independence of Voters

AU2312201892 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Stefan Grubac commentary]

[Text] Although the official results of the elections in Serbia have not yet been announced, it appears that the Serbian people have remained disobedient—they have expressed their own political will rather than someone else's. It appears that the Serbian nation, together with the other citizens of Serbia, have shown that this was a matter of elections in Serbia and not in the United States.

Even before the official results are announced, the well-known coincidences continue. Before the elections, Secretary of State Eagleburger and presidential candidate Milan Panic sent an identical message to the Serbian people, yes, identical: Vote for change! So now, after the elections, complaints about alleged electoral irregularities are coming from the presidential candidate and the mouthpiece of the American administration, Mr. Boucher. Another coincidence?

Even if we agree that the loser has the right to be angry, it is still hard to find any sympathy for the adamance with which the results of the elections are rejected as irregular, for the very reason that it is a direct attack on democracy. The Serbian people are of age, as Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, said just before the vote.

The anxiety is great indeed. The day is nearing when this U.S. Administration definitely departs and the jobs have obviously not been completed as expected. In the meantime, many of the principal creators of the so-called new world order have left the political scene: Mikhail Gorbachev, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Warren Zimmerman, James Baker, Gianni de Michelis, Lord Carrington, Hans van den Broeck, Yegor Gaydar, Lawrence Eagleburger, and George Bush. Well, who is next? It seems that it will be Andrei Kozyrev, whose departure from the Russian Government is only a matter of time. The anxiety is great both there and here, where their political friends are. If we ascribe all this to the political heat and dramatics, which are to a degree understandable, to what can we ascribe the insults that have recently been aimed at, no more and no less, the Serbian people?

Some political leaders, dissatisfied with the people, are insulting them now only because the people have voted according to their own will and not according to that of the political leaders. The same is true of certain newspapers and reporters. One weekly went the furthest in this with an editorial that said that the fate of the people is too serious a matter to be left to the people, meaning the Serbs. As if the peoples of Indonesia or Luxembourg or Norway should have voted in the elections in Serbia. Whether there is any significance in this or not, we will not say. We can only wonder whether the author of this thought could possibly be of Serbian nationality. Judge

for yourself. After all, can anyone in Serbia, be he Serbian or not, insult the Serbian people so? Have these people not had enough insults? As if the Serbian people were illiterate. Formal illiteracy is most often the consequence of economic circumstances, but let us remind you that the national heritage of the Serbs and their Homeric inspiration were cause for open admiration by the great German Goethe and the whole of cultured Europe. Let us recall that Serbian literature is far more advanced than, for example, Swiss literature, although the percentage of literate Swiss is higher than that of the Serbs.

Politics has its own laws. How can anyone who insults a nation or one section of it by calling it murky expect anything from that very same nation?

Socialist Party Spokesman on Election Outcome

LD2312233492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Ivica Dacic, vice chairman and spokesman of the Serbian Socialist Party (SPS), spoke to Hungarian Radio on the party's election victory. The correspondent is Gabor Nemes.

[Nemes] Mr. Dacic, you have won the elections but lost your absolute majority, thus you have to look for a coalition partner. Who else can be taken into consideration apart from the Radical Party of Seselj, the Chetnik voivode.

[Dacic in Serbo-Croatian fading into Hungarian report] Everything depends on how the individual parties perform in the elections at the end. We reckoned with an

absolute majority, but if we do not achieve this then really the Radicals or maybe the Micunovic-led Democratic Party could be our coalition partner. But let us wait for the official final result, he said.

[Nemes] But the Democratic Party has never said that they are ready to form a coalition with you. Just the opposite; together with the other opposition parties they support Panic in the presidential elections.

[Dacic] They have not said it publicly, but in secret they have said it. Unfortunately, politicians should not be believed.

[Nemes] Not even the Socialist politicians?

[Dacic] Some can be believed, but I repeat, we have been saying from the beginning that if we win the elections, depending on the proportion of votes, on our own or in alliance with others, we will govern in the future, too. At the moment we do not see potential partners other than Seselj, or the Democratic Party. We preclude the possibility of a coalition solely with the Depos—that is the Democratic Movement of Serbia. We do not go together with them by any means, said Dacic.

[Nemes] Does that mean that after the elections you, the Socialist Party, will carry on with the same policy as hitherto?

[Dacic] It depends on several factors—the international situation, the internal problems we have to face. What is a permanent, constant factor, is that the Socialist Party will continue its policy, which keeps the Serbian nation's interests in mind, not only in the rump Yugoslavia but the interests of the Serbian nation living outside of it as well, said Ivica Dacic, vice chairman of the Serbian Socialists. [end recording]